6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
F1.12 Masai F1.12

the hut were gathered together the goats of the kraal, mingling, so far as space permitted, with calves and grain. A number of large calabashes lay in one corner, and a coarsely-made earthen cooking-pot in another. Fleas in thousands skipped about, and the midwives had their time well taken up with the myriads of flies which pertinaciously would insist on cultivating personal intimacy with them.

The anticipated event passed over safely. Indeed, the whole affair was hardly thought worthy of remark, except on the part of the mother, who heard with deep pleasure that her offspring was a boy. Girls are sadly at a discount among the Masai. They would always prefer to have boys, but happily nature sees about a little, and takes care that a fair

MASAI KRAAL, NORTH SOMERSET TO ENGLISH.

supply of girls is provided. As there is no registrar or birth column, I am totally unable to state when our hero first saw the light. That, however, is a small matter. No particular ceremonies marked the occasion, and the happy mother was about next day, attending to her household duties as if nothing unusual had happened, the little stranger being warmly enwrapped on her back beneath the bullock's hide which formed the mother's garment.

Babies are babies everywhere, and for the first year or two the embryo warrior grappled with the problem of life like a philosopher as he sucked his mother's milk. Then he spoke. Having next found his legs, he grew apace. Getting above mother's milk, he was seen cramming his toothless teeth on a large chunk of beef. Now this was a very reprehensible indulgence on the part of our young friend, for it doubtless

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

985 becoming bald or developing grey hairs, but that he could not take the regulation dose of purgative as formerly. From this, coupled with the fact that he could not take such liberties with his stomach, he gathered that he was not quite so strong as formerly. We can imagine how he would curse his luck and look foolish on discovering this unpalatable truth. There was nothing for it but to marry, and become a staid and respectable member of society. He had sown his wild oats.

583 Casting about, he fixed upon a damsel after his heart.
986 The preliminaries having been arranged—the number of bullocks to be paid, &c.—she was sealed to him. Then an
[304] operation was performed on the damsel. Recovered from its effects, she had to wait till the calving season, as abundance
[305] of milk is an indispensable requisite in the honeymoon. Meanwhile, she allowed her hair to grow till it assumed the
[306] appearance of an old shoe-brush clotted up with blacking. Round the head she wore a band of cowries from which
[307] depended a number of strings, forming in fact the bridal veil. At last the happy day arrived, and the final seal was
585 put upon the marriage by both parties disposing of their chain
945 earrings, and substituting a double disc of copper wire arranged spirally. The lady also shaved her head, laid aside the garment of the ditto, and clothed herself with two skins, one suspended from the waist the other from the shoulder. Strangest of all, however, and strikingly indicative of the fact that he had exchanged the spear for the distaff, Morun had actually to wear the garment of a ditto for one month. Just imagine what fun it would be in this staid and dignified country of ours, if a young man had to spend his honeymoon in a cast-off suit of his wife's maiden clothes. What our friend's feelings were in this guise, I do not know, and this veracious chronicle does not admit of conjecture.

935 And now Morun's sole idea was to rear a brood of young
885 cattle-lifters, and so that he got them, he was not very particular as to the manner of it. He was not jealous,
• [312] asked no awkward questions, and employed no spies. If a friend should visit him, he was hospitable in a degree not consistent with a high level of morality. We shall here prudently follow his example of non-inquisitiveness; for we might find that the domestic affairs of our friend's household will not bear a too curious scrutiny.

935 He was now wholly a changed being—as indeed who is
262 not when he gets married! His strict rules of diet were

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
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Before dealing with the subsequent procedure, after a girl has promised to visit a warrior on a given night, it is necessary to outline the sleeping arrangements and accommodation in a *manyatta* hut. The hut is not divided off into rooms in any way, and at one end of the hut is the bed upon which the woman (mother of one of the warriors) to whom the hut belongs, sleeps with her younger children. At the other end of the hut, not screened off in any way, is the bed upon which the warriors and girls sleep. No warrior may ever sleep upon the married woman's bed, but the woman's husband can come down and visit her whenever he likes, and when he does so, no warriors or girls may sleep in the hut. Ordinarily, however, the woman's husband does not live at the *manyatta*, and she and her small children sleep on her bed at the one end of the hut, while the warriors sleep on the bed at the other end of the hut with the girls. No warrior ever sleeps in his own mother's hut, but always in one of the other huts if he has invited a girl to sleep the night with him. When, therefore, he has arranged for a girl to visit him at night he goes in the evening to one of the other huts and arranges to sleep on the young people's bed there. He then sends a message by the woman who owns the hut to tell the girl that he is sleeping there so that she may come to him. There is absolutely no objection to several men coming in this way to the same hut, and sleeping on the same big bed each accompanied by his girl. In fact, it is considered wrong for a warrior and a girl to have sexual intercourse unless there are also other couples sleeping on the same bed. Moreover, besides those men who have come to the hut and sent for their girls to join them there, there are usually several younger girls, daughters of the woman who owns the hut, sleeping on the bed too. These young girls, too young as yet to sleep with the men sexually, nevertheless, sleep on the same bed as the warriors and older girls, and thus grow up steeped in the customs of the *manyatta*.

It is exceptionally difficult for a European to understand all the full details and facts concerning native sex life, but the following facts have been noted and verified for the Masai. No girl may sleep with a man except she be absolutely nude, but on the other hand, although by tradition and by etiquette she may not refuse an invitation to sleep with a man (except for the two reasons already given above), she is not necessarily expected to allow him full sexual intercourse, and, in fact, often does not do so. Thus—strange as it may seem—Masai girls do sometimes go to their husbands as virgins in the physical sense of the word (*see* Marriage), although they may have slept with men in the *manyattas* countless times. Usually, however, Masai girls have no objection to full intercourse except during the first four or five days after each menstrual period (*see* Girlhood), for the Masai firmly believe that conception cannot occur unless intercourse takes place very soon after menstruation, and four to five days is considered an absolutely safe margin. Moreover, this belief seems to have a strong foundation in fact, and it thus raises a very interesting point for physiologists as to whether this is as true of primitive peoples as it

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
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836 is of animals. It is apparently this fact which explains why there are so
842 few cases of uninitiated girls conceiving despite the Manyatta sexual organization.
561 My informants insist that cases of conception only occur when a girl has been persuaded by a man to have full intercourse just after her menstruation. It is quite easy for a girl to see to it that she does not have full intercourse if she does not want it, since there are always at least two other couples sleeping on the same bed, and there is also always a married woman in the same hut to see to it that no force is used by the men.

(For details of procedure should an uninitiated girl conceive, *see* Girlhood.)

836 *Permanent Lovers.*—Besides the casual day-to-day lovers described above,
561 a girl very often has a more permanent lover in the *manyatta* in which she lives, chosen from among the ranks of those who have been her casual lovers. The actual
836 choosing ceremony takes place in public, but the choice is usually made privately
584 beforehand. This permanent lover in some cases will eventually be the girl's
561 husband, but this is not usual, as nearly every Masai girl is betrothed during childhood (*see* Marriage), and usually girls are quite content to marry those to whom they were thus betrothed. Should a girl be unwilling to marry the man to whom she is betrothed she usually contrives to become pregnant by her "permanent lover" and to persuade him to marry her (*see* Girlhood).

836 The actual ceremony of selecting a "permanent lover" takes place as a public
561 affair. A group of the warriors, including the man, collect together and one of the man's friends then summons the girl and hands her a spear, and she is told to go and give it to the man she chooses as "permanent lover." Having thus been publicly accepted, the warrior from then on becomes responsible for supplying the girl with such ornaments and necklaces as she may need from time to time, and he also gives her a special necklace to be worn as a token. After this ceremony she continues as before to sleep with any of the warriors who may ask her to do so in the way detailed above (*see* Sex Life). Equally the man may sleep with any of the other girls, but the girl and her "permanent lover" can arrange to sleep together without adopting the usual formula and procedure.

561 *The Eunoto Ceremony.*—After nine years of Junior Warriorhood a big cere-
[484] mony called *Eunoto* takes place, at which all the members of a given group from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east, and west, are required to be present. This ceremony marks their rise from Junior to Senior Warriorhood. During the whole of the nine years of Junior Warriorhood they have not been
[303] allowed to shave their heads at all, but their hair has been gradually tied and trained into a long pigtail at the back of the head, which is the sign of Junior Warriorhood. (The only exception to this rule of not shaving the head during Junior Warriorhood is in case of severe illness, when the head may be shaved if so desired.)

883 836 attached to the warriors to sleep with them. In fact, we may say that for the girls sex life starts before puberty and continues (with no such period of sexual prohibition as the boys have during the novice stage) until they are initiated. There is one important restriction, however, as far as the girls are concerned, and that is that [834] sexual intercourse with married men is entirely prohibited before initiation, and is considered a very serious offence.

841 *Menstruation.*—Menstruation is not looked upon as causing uncleanness, and there are no special rules and regulations attached to this condition, but, on the other hand, during the actual menstrual period a girl should refuse all invitations to sleep with men or boys. There is no restriction of work during the menstrual [171] period as there is among some Bantu tribes, but a girl or woman must wash her hands before milking if she is menstruating.

● 842 *Conception.*—There is a general belief (as already mentioned) that conception can only take place if there has been full sexual intercourse during the five or six days immediately following the menstrual period, and although there is no special teaching about this, girls grow up with this knowledge and take care not to allow full intercourse during the few days immediately following menstruation. Occasionally, of course, a girl does allow sexual intercourse at this time, either because she is carried away by sexual desire, or because she deliberately wishes to conceive for some reason or another (*see* Warriorhood). In the former case she will try to bring about abortion.

847 *Abortion.*—If a girl finds that she has conceived and wishes to induce abortion she reveals for the man whom she considers responsible and tells him about it, and he is bound to help her.

As long as her condition has not been discovered by her parents she may try to induce abortion, but as soon as her condition is known to her parents she must no longer try to do so. Abortion is brought about by means of a stick of special wood which can only be obtained from a medicine man. This stick is inserted into the vaginal passage and is said to be an absolutely certain abortificant. This is the only method used.

848 583 884 *Penalty for Conception.*—If an uninitiated girl conceives and her condition becomes known she must immediately be initiated. In the normal way (*see* below) her initiation would take place at her mother's house and the necessary arrangements would be made by her father, but if she is to be initiated because she is with child the onus of all the arrangements is shifted on to the man who is responsible for the girl's condition, and the ceremony must take place at the man's village. This does not, however, mean that the man will have to marry her because of this, but he may do so should both parties desire it. Not only must the man arrange for her initiation and pay all the costs of the ceremony, but he must also give one heifer and a quantity of beer to the girl's father, "because he has prevented the father

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Moreover, there will be no lack of married men willing to be the physical father of her children, since no married men may have intercourse with uninitiated girls, nor yet with their own wife or wives if with child. 585 837 843

Married women make a point of having intercourse immediately after menstruation in order to "get a child." All children born to a woman who is married are considered to be the children of her husband, no matter who their actual father may be. Owing to this system it may happen that by the time a man leaves the warrior stage and passes into the Elders' stage, and goes to live with his wife, he may find that she already has one or more children. 585 842 [561]

Normal Marriage (of a subsequent Wife).—In the case of a girl marrying a man who already has one or more wives, she simply goes to his village—where she has either already built a hut or had it built for her—as soon as the shaving ceremony is over after her initiation. She then lives with him in the normal way and he will probably be the physical father of her children, although not necessarily so, as she is permitted to have lovers if she wishes it, provided they are married men. 595 [837]

Forced Marriage.—It occasionally happens that the father of a man who is still in the warrior class decides for some reason or another that he wishes to have his son at home—wishes, in fact, that his son should leave the warrior stage before the age-group to which he belongs is due to move up to the Elders' stage en masse. In such a case he waits until the girl to whom his son is betrothed has been initiated and is ready for marriage (or even arranges for her initiation to be hastened) and then proceeds as follows. The marriage transaction having been completed and the girl's new hut built in the village, he sends for the girl and secludes her in the hut. He then arranges with some of the young men of the same age-group as his son to bring the youth to the village on some pretext or other. The usual pretext is that of going to the village to ask for a bullock for a meat feast (*see* Part IX). As soon as the village is reached these young men together with some older men seize the man and carry him forcibly to the girl's hut. The girl is alone in the hut; not even her mother may be present when the man is brought in. The two—man and girl—are forcibly held together so that their bodies touch. Once his body has touched hers (an initiated girl) in the presence of witnesses he cannot go back to the warrior group, and so has to remain and reconcile himself to premature married life with its restrictions. 585 561

Marriage of a Virgin.—There is a very curious custom connected with the marriage of a girl who is a virgin in the physical sense of the word, *i.e.* of a girl whose hymen has never been penetrated. Should a girl's husband find that his wife has come to him in this condition, he must send her back to her father's village the next morning carrying on her back a milk gourd without its stopper. This is a sign to her father that she went to her husband as a virgin, and her father must send her back to her husband with a gift in the form of a heifer as compensation to the husband. The husband may not himself perforate the hymen until this heifer has been received. 585

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
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As stated above, *Ol Piron* means a firestick. I have been given a reason for the use of this term, but was not convinced of its truth. The elders of the *Ol Piron* generation stand in a particular position of guardians to their juniors who recognize their authority to a far greater extent than they do that of elders of other generations. This relationship has considerable political as well as domestic importance. 561

Manyattas.—The *siriti* is the unit for a single *manyatta*, except when the whole age-group of a single area combine to form one *manyatta* for some ceremony, *e.g.* the *E-Unoto*. 561 361 648

For some years the policy of Government was directed towards suppressing the warrior system, and *manyattas* were prohibited, each warrior being supposed to live in his father's village. With increasing control and understanding of the tribe this rule has been somewhat relaxed, and the warriors are now commonly allowed to have *manyattas* provided that they continue to behave themselves before the law.

But the general effect of Government policy has profoundly modified the original customs with regard to warriorhood, and it is now rather difficult at times to know exactly what these were. The main political effect is that warriorhood lasts for a much shorter period than formerly, and most men marry and become elders within four or five years of their circumcision. 561 177 361

Nowadays the parents are somewhat unwilling that the girls should live in the *manyattas*, and so there are only a few of them to be seen there.

A *manyatta* usually differs structurally from an elder's village in that it is simply a circle of huts without the usual thorn hedge round it.

Sex Life.—The word written by Mr. Leakey *tasiukiu* would perhaps best be spelt as two words *Tasioki iyook*. *Tasioki* is a second person singular imperative of a dative word (*see* Hollis, p. 77) which I have never heard except as described by Mr. Leakey. *Iyook* means "we" or "us." 836 [193] [114]

When a man has been accepted by a girl who has been so addressed he usually holds out his hand to her with the tips of his forefinger and thumb touching to form a circle. She is then supposed to break the circle so formed with her forefinger. This is regarded as making her acceptance binding. [201] [832]

It is a great disgrace for a warrior to cause an uninitiated girl to conceive, and he must kill an enemy in order to wipe it out. This is, in fact, the usual reason for the occasional murders of people of other tribes, frequently ascribed erroneously to a desire on the part of the murderer to "blood his spear." 842 154

The E-Unoto Ceremony.—Nowadays this takes place from three to five years after initiation. It is not a single ceremony for the whole of the Masai, but there are a number of separate ceremonies according to the groups enumerated in my age-group table above. 561 884

/47 cont./

585 People gather in the vicinity of this kraal in the cool morning hours under a large shade tree, to which each of the participants brings something edible and potable, a sheep, a goat, a pot of honey, a calabash of milk or honey beer. The children belonging to the family of the bride and to her relatives drive up a head of cattle belonging to the bride's father. The head of cattle is immediately slaughtered to feed the guests. Bride and groom are festively adorned, that is, [302] above all /48/ rubbed on the upper body and head with a paint made out of beef suet and red ocher. Those present sit in a large circle, one half of which is formed by the bridegroom with the men and the other by the bride with the women and children, so that the bride [753] and groom are opposite each other. Whereas the guests partake heartily of the foods, the bridal couple may not take anything because they would become sick from it, would get a rash around their mouths, but rather they must bear patiently a flood of good teachings and advice. After finishing the banquet and the dance following it, which does not come to an end until shortly before midnight, everyone retires; the bride goes with her mother into the latter's hut, the bridegroom together with other warriors into another one. On the following day people again assemble for dancing. On this day only two sheep are slaughtered; the bridegroom brings one, his father-in-law gives the other. Women and girls rub their bodies and skin aprons with the fat of the animals. After the meal the bride is handed over to the bridegroom and the two move into their new hut, to which the man's mother brings a small child from the neighborhood. The man takes the child from her and puts it on the lap of his wife, who gives the [842] child milk to drink out of a gourd bottle. This ceremony is supposed not only to express the wish for numerous progeny, but it is also believed that it has the magic power to bring them forth.

In some regions it is customary for married people to remain together immediately after the wedding, and the wife may not leave the hut either on the wedding day or for the following five days. In others the wife goes for a time, 20 days to two months, to her mother or mother-in-law, or, if her husband already has several wives, to his principal wife, in order to be instructed in the work of the household and, with the help of her hostess, to build a hut of

/50 cont./
843 observed, since as a rule a new pregnancy ends the nursing period.
[853] The pregnant woman removes the ornaments that she previously
[183] wore, in order -- as the Masai explain this custom -- not to entice men. During the first five months of pregnancy the woman lives as
[262] usual with respect to food and drink. Then she is given a broth of lung, liver, and kidneys cooked with a bitter-tasting tree bark (2)

2. From Albizzia anthelmintica.

called ol mokotan, and milk, only the latter during the last month. Through this the woman is supposed to become as exceedingly thin as possible, so that the birth will proceed easier. She may not eat the meat of fallen livestock. The husband during this time need not subject himself to any special diet or special acts, but he may not go to war, for it is believed that he would die on the way. Shortly before the delivery the husband may not leave the kraal or its immediate
[732] vicinity. If he should tease a crippled person or mock him because of his infirmity, the awaited child would come into the world af-
844 flicted with the same defect. /51/ For a successful delivery the
[782] pregnant woman prays: 'Ng ai ndaba 'ndubuggu en tiamassi (1)

1. Or en diamassi.

= "God let come out healthy -- the monster," as the unborn child is called. The woman gives birth in her hut, which on this day may be entered only by women and girls. A midwife (eh gaitoijoni, h gaitoijok) provides or performs the necessary assistance. If the newborn child is a boy, the midwife calls out that blood should be drawn from an ox as food for the woman in childbed: in the other case, from a heifer. Through this the father also learns the sex of the new-
[782] born child. During the birth process the women who are in the hut or standing around it cry to God for help and assistance in shrill, often
845 plaintive voices. The birth of a boy is more desired than that of a
[842] girl, but the greatest joy prevails at the birth of twins, especially if both are boys. In that case the woman often keeps only the first-born child with her, while the second one is nursed by another suitable

/61 cont./

881 question for the next circumcision period. These choose for this, as the site of the festival, a recently built family kraal, which is [292] then designated as eng aŋ 'n aibage 'l aijok. Decked out with a [535] costume in imitation of the warriors, but without weapons and, in- [533] stead, a long stick in the right hand, the boys amuse themselves with dance and song in the vicinity of the kraal. When they crowd into the kraal after the first dance, in order to moisten their parched throats with milk, they are /62/ sprinkled with honey beer by an old man standing at the entrance and congratulated with the words: en dobollo, en daret ijōk, en dabo loscho, that is, roughly: may you become ever more numerous, make us rich, and bring prosperity to the country. During the festival the boys choose a spokesman or speaker (ol aigwenani) from their midst, whose task is to train them in comradeship and corps spirit. When the festival has lasted two days, the boys move into the various neighboring areas in order to 881 repeat it there. In this way an eŋ gebāta often lasts a month. It is • 842 also to be mentioned that very many women appear at these festivals, and especially all who have up to then remained barren. The former appear in part as mothers of the celebrating boys, in part as companions of the barren ones, and the latter for their part come in order to have themselves pelted by the boys with -- fresh cattle dung, because through that they will become fruitful, according to a con- 881 viction prevailing generally among the Masai. In each of the following four to five circumcisionless years ('l ari otudunyeki 'l aijok) a [231] similar festival is celebrated. It should be mentioned further that the cattle whose meat is used to feed the participants at the eŋ gebāta festival are not killed, as is customary, by a stab in the neck, but rather by suffocation.

Let us now consider the circumcision festival:

[301] A few weeks beforehand one already sees the boys, adorned with as much ornamentation as possible, singing and dancing every day in their own and the neighboring kraals, through which they express their joy over soon being able to enter the privileged standing of the [302] warriors. On the day before the operation the boy's head is shaved, and the hair is thrown under the bed of the children in the maternal [292] hut. The boy takes off his skin cape and ornaments and dresses himself

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

836 701 Every warrior has his favorite girl (na sandja) (1).

1. /This footnote has been translated from the Latin in the original source./ Girls not yet "circumcised" live with the fighting men, sleeping with this one today, that one tomorrow. Pregnancy for a girl not yet circumcised is considered an outrage and is avoided either by interrupting cohabitation during the menses and the six days following or by withdrawing the penis before ejaculation. A pregnant girl gets rid of the fetus by an abortion brought about by medicaments. In wartime parents do not have intercourse for one or two months. Rupturing the hymen is neither a public custom nor a solemn rite.

[881] [848] [842] [847] [834] [833]

As long as he is at home she lives with him, takes care of his livestock, and makes part of his ornaments. The girl calls her lover os sandja and shows the others the coming about of this relationship by bringing a gourd bottle full of milk to the warriors squatting together and placing it beside the left leg of her lover.

142 301 714 →

Merker phot.

Ill. 31. Warrior in war adornment.

/199 cont./

853 bring back the milk secretion by a copious drinking of liquid sheep fat. Meanwhile the child is nourished with cow's milk.

757 For pains in the uterus (eñ gusét) and in the uterine ligaments (es saból, es sábo) the woman drinks a root decoction of ol mañgulai (Grewia villosa).

847 824 [237] To induce an abortion, the one concerned drinks a decoction of dried goat manure or a strong decoction of os segi (Cordia quarensis) or ol durgó root. During the subsequent two or three days of convalescence she takes a weak decoction of ol mokotan bark or one of the bark of ol oilale (Colubrina asiatica).

163 Concerning fertility, the relationship of the sexes, and child mortality I was able to discover the following. The largest number of one woman's confinements that became known to me was 17. The 87 old women questioned had given birth to 548 children all together, which gives an average of 6.3 confinements for one woman. Of these, 231, therefore 42.2 per cent, were boys, 371, therefore [165] 57.8 per cent, girls. Before their circumcision 38.7 per cent of the children died, including the stillbirths.

845 842 It should also be mentioned that the realization of a twin pregnancy is regarded as having arisen through one conception.

/209 cont./

796 782 participants eats a small piece of the meat, after he has roasted it in the ashes. Furthermore he is given a strip of the skin, from which [751] [237] he then fashions amulet rings, one for himself, the others for his relatives. The ring protects the wearer from sicknesses of every kind. Men wear it on the right middle finger, women wear it on the large spiral-shaped neck ornament of iron wire. During the feast the participants constantly sing: [539]

Hai narok, oho, Hai kindera ije, oh,
Hai narok, oho, Hai ndogo ijok oh!

(Hai ndogo ijok = may God feed us; afdog = water the cattle, ndogo ijok = give us to drink, give rain.)

796 782 233 On the following day the women carry fresh cattle dung to the ashes and knead a mash from it, into which is mixed a medicine that an ol goiatiki has prepared and brought along. With these preparations the second part of the supplication feast has begun, which is called ol ogor l oh gischu, i.e., supplication feast for the cattle. Amidst the same songs as above the women spread the medicine on the livestock in the form of lines and curves, and, to be sure, on the spines of the cows and female sheep, on the right side of the belly of the male animals and those females ones that have not yet dropped young. With this the feast is over. The goats are not smeared, but are driven to pasture even before this ceremony. As the reason for this the Masai say that 'Ng ai does not like goats because they do not modestly carry their little tails hanging down as a fig leaf.

796 782 842 791 Another supplication feast is celebrated only by the married women in order to implore God to give them children. It is called iruga 'Ng ai ol adjo, i.e., may God hear the word. In or near the kraal the women gather in the forenoon, together with a sorcerer (ol goiatiki), around whom they station themselves in a circle. Every woman is then given an amulet by him, which she hangs on the hip cord of the skin apron. Then he sprinkles their heads and shoulders with a medicine, which, besides milk and honey beer, also contains one of his secret remedies, for which he is rewarded with a few sheep. Then the women dance and sing throughout the day under a shade tree, during the night in the kraal, until dawn.

/209 cont./

796 782 [842] [539] In the songs the following prayer is constantly repeated: 'Ng ai atasaia, 'j' oschiage aomon, kiamon ag' ije kiamon eñ gera, eñ golobi en aischo, i.e., God, I implore you always: I pray, we pray to you alone, we pray for children, for birth for the barren woman.

Whereas the supplication feasts are usually held on the es sobiaĩn days (from the 18th to the 20th of the month), a joint supplication-prayer, ol dogom, often takes place on the day of the new moon. The people of the kraal gather in the evening and, from a buffalo or cattle horn, drink a mixture consisting of milk, a cold extract of eñ gaitetojai twigs (Commelina Merkeri K. Sch.), and a white powder obtained from the ol oiboni, while they say the /210/ prayer: 'Ng ai jo ijok eñ gischon, jo ijok ñ gischu, jo ijok eñ gera! That is, may God give us well-being, livestock, and children. If a larger supplication feast is to be held in a month, the joint supplication feast always precedes it on the first day of the month.

[272] [237] [415] [824] [539]

782 783 [784] If a small child of one not long detached from the warrior standing dies, he not infrequently sees in it a punishment from God for his having killed a pregnant woman on an earlier expedition, provided that he once killed a woman who might have been in this condition. In order to obtain forgiveness, he offers God a black gravid sheep, and, to be sure, close to the spot where at that time he committed the deed. Before he kills the animal, he prays to God, mentions the purpose of the sacrifice, and asks for pardon. As penance for his misdeed, he throws the blood and amniotic fluid (eñ gepa) of the sacrificial animal, as well as the fetus and uterus, both cut into pieces, upon the spot where it occurred. He takes along neither meat nor skin of the slaughtered animal, but leaves everything lying there when, after the concluded sacrifice, he returns to his kraal.

825 826 775 613 The lineage of the El kiboron believes that the bones of the buried corpses of their married men turn into snakes. They therefore do not kill these animals, like the other Masai, but are happy about their presence in the kraal and by the huts and, as soon as a snake appears, set on the ground a shallow dish with milk and honey as food for it. Snakes in and near El kiboron kraals are not rare.

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825
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/210 cont./
Allegedly they never bite the El kiboron people; on the other hand the latter often use them as frightening devices against both Masai and Negroes.

776 The Masai are not familiar with devils, but indeed with the -- male -- demon 'Ngnaunir, whose body is hard as stone and therefore invulnerable, who bears the head of a predatory animal and whose feet are armed with claws. He lies in wait on paths and calls passers-by by name, in order then to tear apart and devour those who approach. For most adults 'Ngnaunir is merely a bogeyman [861] for naughty children. "Do not go too far away," the mother says to the children, "otherwise 'Ngnaunir will get you."

754 If a person brings misfortune, illness, or death to another through sorcery (es sétáh), this is merely the effect of a power inherent in the magic medicine, which is based on the composition of the medicine and is effective through the recitation of certain formulas and 789 the execution of special gestures. The aforementioned amulet ring [757] (ol geretti) protects one against the effect of magic made by another [754] Masai. Women who go into the neighboring areas of foreign tribes to buy vegetables especially protect themselves from their sorcery. They smear their foreheads and cheeks with cattle dung or wear around their necks a cord on which are strung small, split sticks. Other amulets that I found contained, sewed in leather, a mixture of plant powder (from wood, /211/ roots, barks), after which they are named, and a secret medicine of the ol goiatiki, who alone is able to prepare the whole in such a way that it is effective. The [842] legumojig amulet is worn by women around their necks and is regarded as prompting conception. We have become acquainted with another remedy prized by the women barren up to then in connection with the boys' eń gebāta feast. The eń goguroi is tied around the ankle and protects one from ailments of the legs. The ol durgeĭ [751] is worn by warriors around the neck or wrist for protection against sorcery. In hand-to-hand combat the powder contained in it is also scattered toward the enemy, whereupon the latter is supposed to be forced to give up his resistance. The en jorré protects the husband from the anger of his wife when he has committed some folly, for example, has gone beyond the customary limits on

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IV.

000 The future of the Masai People. -- Weighing the effect of the people-preserving and people-destroying factors. -- Polygamy. -- Nutrition. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality. -- Free love. -- Organization. -- Wars. -- Epidemics. -- National pride. -- Clash of the culture of the Masai with that of the Europeans. -- The incompatability of the two hurts the Masai. -- Harmful consequences of the impoverishment. -- Difficulty of becoming sedentary.

121 In order to make a prognosis about the future of the Masai people it seems necessary, first of all, to weigh the people-preserving and people-destroying factors established in the people, in its character and customs, and then to observe the phenomena that appear when the Masai meet the Europeans. We have many examples of the fact
182 that polygamy does not promote an increase in the population to the
595 extent that monogamy does as a rule. As the reason for this phenomenon one finds an accumulation of wives in the hands of the wealthy, and, as a consequence of that, celibacy for lack of women among very many of the less well-to-do and among the poor. It is obvious that under such circumstances polygamy leaves very many women
[162] neglected. But it is different among the Masai, for here there is such a surplus of women -- perhaps in part again as a result of polygamy -- that no man remains celibate, in fact the possession of only
[735] one woman is an exception. Hand in hand with this goes the not so unequal distribution of property: in practice there are scarcely any poor people. Another reason to which /345/ the decline in population among many polygamous peoples is attributed is that polygamous marriages as a rule are relatively poorer in children then monogamous
[842] ones. This objection is not to be taken into consideration here either, for we have seen that the fertility of the Masai women is very great. Yet, in order fully to consider the polygamy of the Masai in its economic effect, we must observe the milieu in which it exists. The polygamous household of the Masai may be compared to a stock company, to which the property, theoretically belonging solely to the house father belongs in practice. The house father is the chief

/349 cont./

178 that are started with as a rule and which one therefore finds in all the
241 settlements. Yet despite the ease of production of the field crops,
the transition to agriculture nevertheless is taking place in a way
178 that is reducing the population in extraordinary fashion. First of all,
182 the acclimatization process slowly being accomplished demands a
164 great sacrifice of human lives. The Masai, little afflicted with
165 fever in the dry steppes, suffers with it quite seriously in the moist
regions in which mosquitoes are permanently at home. Thus on two
occasions in the same new settlement I found all the adults and many
children sick with fever. Another one had just been abandoned by
its inhabitants, leaving the sick behind. The ones left behind,
principally men and boys, were badly reduced by fever and, in
addition, suffered to a great extent from virulent leg ulcers, whose
great extent -- in many cases they covered the entire lower leg,
from knee to ankle -- probably is to be traced back to a general
weakening of the body by fever and lack of food; for such ulcers
are not common among nomadic Masai, and, where they occur,
/350/ they remain smaller and show a tendency to heal rapidly.
Other illnesses arise from the unfamiliar diet. The rapid transition
[262] from an almost pure meat diet to an almost pure vegetable diet
makes demands on the stomach and intestines that a body weakened
by fever is seldom equal to. Sickness and death from this cause
are frequent and are increased further by the consumption of bad
water. Thus, more than half the people in one settlement com-
plained of painful diarrhea and bloody stools. All these acclimati-
• [842] zation illnesses seem also to manifest their effect in decreased
[163] fertility of the women and increased child mortality. I was repeat-
edly struck by the small number of sucklings (two-year suckling
period) and older children. Thus early in 1902 in Ngaruka, between
Lake Manyara and Lake Natron, among a number of about 50 women,
I found only twelve children, three of them babies. According to
the statements of the parents, very many children had died of various
ailments, especially fever, stomach and intestinal affections, several
178 also had perished in Masai attacks. For the Masai who are becoming
619 sedentary, the ones still living among the "people" as nomads are
721 a scourge that scarcely falls short of the illnesses just mentioned in

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

133 Mau is the source of all the rivers watering the western half
[137] of Masailand, Kipsigis and part of the Rift Valley. The birthplace of innumerable streams, it is, in theory, protected by its status as a forest reserve.

185 Looking out from the small yellow aircraft expertly handled
311 by June Wright, one of the best commercial pilots in East Africa, one could quickly see how different theory was from practice, here as elsewhere. In a forest reserve no one is allowed to fell trees, cultivate, start fires or graze livestock. In less than half an hour, I counted seventeen active fires and saw the shambles created by innumerable others. Whole ridgebacks of the mountain, sticking up like black spines, were as bare as slag-heaps and already runnelled and creased by gully erosion. Older fires were still smoking in some of these devastated areas; one could see the forest being eaten into like a great fur pelt attacked by moths.

As sure as fate, one day there will be no more water for cattle in the streams below. 'God is punishing us,' will say the Masai: but it will not be God, it will be themselves. The
[233] streams are already shrinking and the Masai are driving their herds farther into the hills to find grazing. They cannot take cattle into forest and so they burn a way in. They are creeping upwards, spreading destruction as they go in order to escape the consequences of destruction they have already caused.

[222] Other fires are started by honey-hunters who burn down trees to smoke out the bees. Often, in the forest, you can see blackened hollow cedars and olives killed by fires tucked into the roots. If the foliage is dry and the wind right, the fire will spread and get out of hand.

563 And then there are 'acceptees': a clumsy term given to men of other tribes who are settling in Masailand, family by family, with the permission of Masai elders. They are tenants: but it is very unlikely that they will ever go.

[167] In South Nyanza and in Kipsigis it is reckoned that upwards of two thousand families a year are crossing the southern border into Masailand and Tanganyika. In recent years a
[582] good many Masai have married Kikuyu or Kamba wives
[842] because so many of their own women are sterile; at one time there was quite a trade in Kikuyu girl-children, exchanged for cattle.